/31 cont./

764 The external equipment of the grave is evidently supposed to represent a house. Two poles (itäδ) 1 1/3 meters
• [776] high and decorated on the short, forked tip with bundles of feathers hanging down, are planted at the head and foot ends of the grave in order to keep away the "animals," that is, in any case the demons (the kenaima of Guiana). The drum-like thickness in the middle part of the pole bears the family mark of the deceased, engraved or indicated by feather

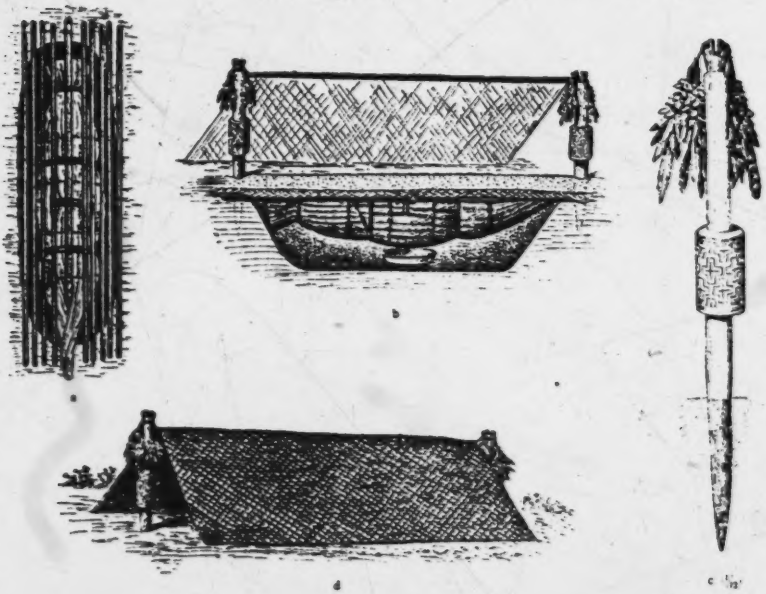

Fig. 16. Grave equipment.

[532] mosaic. One of the specimens available (c) shows the cross-decoration of the lizard (hädauã). The feather pattern of both the others is unfortunately unrecognizable.

Both poles are connected with a cord, over which two
[775] buriti mats are spread like a roof (d). /32/ Under this tent is put a gourd with food and drink for the soul, which after the burial stays for a while in the vicinity of the grave.

/36 cont./

535 532 825 On both, the back side is decorated with a double row of short green and blue parrot feathers placed in the long direction.

3. The mask of a black bird (tirehãn) has no animal emblem. It is a human face made of a large gourd, the lower third painted black, the rest red. The mouth is equipped with wax lips and wooden teeth. The nose of black wax is located between the narrow eye slits at an unnatural height. A hanging of black and /37/ brown feathers falls from the back, while at the front and on the sides long strips of buriti bast cover the body of the wearer (Pl. X /see p. 112/, 3).

[184] The number of masks is in no way exhausted with these. Each village has its special ones and many a "medicine hut" was actually crammed full of the different types.

Besides those mentioned the following were noted as particularly common among the Karayahi:

The fish: pintado (Pimelodus sorubim), trem-trem (Gymnotus electricus), chicote, piau, and piraruc͡ũ (Sudis gigas); the birds: tuyuyu (Mycteria jabiru), japuĩa (Cacicus sp.) mutum (Crax), jacu (Penelope); finally deer and crabs.

520 535 Masked festivals. If there is much food on hand after productive hunting and fishing expeditions, the chief decides to hold a dance festival, which continues as long as the provisions last. The preparations begin several days before the date set. The women attend to the food and drink, the men set to work at making the dance costumes, unless they are still occupied with hunting.

[533] [918] Each dance is known only to certain persons. The songs sung in connection with them, which are handed down from father to son, are allegedly performed in an ancient language incomprehensible to the masses.

[825] [533] Each animal represented has its characteristic sound, which is repeated again and again in the songs. Thus, the pacu cries: heiyoñ he, heiyoñ he, the alligator hu — hu — hu.

[562] [532] [906] The women and children watch the dance, to be sure, but may not look at the masks by themselves, without their wearers, since they are made to believe that the "animal spirits" concerned are really present before them. Only the oldest women are sometimes told the secret.

/37 cont./

535 That such barbaric customs prevailed, at least formerly,
532 is all the less to be doubted, since analogies can be shown in
562 other regions of the world. Today, however, the matter does
688 not seem to be handled as strictly. It is said that among the
178 neighboring Tapirapé all the women once saw the masks by chance, so there was nothing else to do but to pardon them all and give up the secret.

According to a statement of Pedro Manco, the custom has fallen into disuse among the Šambioa, too. Nevertheless, they did not permit us simply to take the masks found in the forest along with us, because women /38/ were presumed to be in the area. Rather our men had to put on special clothing for the purpose of bringing them to our camp.

Whether these customs have now become milder or not, in any case the respect the women have for the masks and their mysterious storage place is quite great.

535 After the end of the festival the masks are thrown away or
532 burned. In any case the feathers used for them are saved.

It is unlikely that we shall ever fully understand the real meaning of these dances. It is even doubtful whether the Indians themselves are fully aware of it. On the basis of analogies among better known peoples, a few conjectures about it can at least be made.

535 It is certain that the mask represents the spirit of the ani-
532 mal portrayed. The animals themselves are either game animals
● 776 or those that play a certain role in the national legend, such as
825 the stork, the alligator, and the Gymnotus. In North America
[191] there are bear dances, buffalo dances, etc., in order to persuade the bear and buffalo spirit to make these animals appear in larger numbers, whereas other dances refer to animals which are regarded as original ancestors or have other mythological significance. Similar notions may also be the basis for the masked dances of the Karaya. This would already be a step beyond the lowest form of animism, since the acceptance of a spirit representing all animals of a certain class presumes a certain amount

/38 cont./

535 of abstraction (1). Insofar as these animal spirits are supposed to
532
776
825

1. Im Thurn, op. cit., p. 370.

be influenced in a way favorable to human beings, the first trace of a cult appears in these dances.

535 If one asks the Indians themselves why they keep the secret
532 from the women, they answer without exception that the women
567 are not permitted to see everything, they talk too much.

The need to maintain the authority of the men over the women appears wherever such mysterious festivals are current. The same thing is known from Greek and Oriental antiquity. It is possible that in this effort, which may often appear to the civilized man as a brutal tyranny over the weaker sex, one of the most ancient "folk ideas" belonging to all mankind finds its expression.

The whizzing stick does not seem to be in use among the Karaya; at least nothing could be learned about it.

Legends and Folklore

126 In the last days of our stay in S. Maria old Pedro Manco
[115] dictated a number of legends, which, given the paucity of
[793] such materials from South America and despite their simplicity and poverty of ideas, as well as the in part garbled form, nevertheless command some interest. Unfortunately because of the lack of time, they could not be written down in the original language, and in particular working out an interlinear translation met insuperable difficulties.

793 Whether these traditions have remained completely free of
199 foreign influence can be decided with certainty only when someone is successful in drawing on other informants as a check. The chances, to be sure, are very slight. For the present nothing opposes the presumption that we are actually dealing here with genuine products of the Indian folk-spirit.

793 These myths differ neither in form nor in content from those otherwise from America. The very saga which is most

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

among the last. He got stuck in the hole. His belly was too big. He decided to go back. It was a dead leaf that he spied. He spoke to his wife, 'Let's go back. There is death there.' They went back again. Those that had come out were very happy. They were all happy. Then one of them climbed a tree. It was a child that climbed. He fell and died. They all mourned. Suddenly they got cheerful again. For this reason they were angry, his mother and father. His brother and sister, married to each other, were angry. For this reason there was keening. They say that there in the depths of the water there was no death."

In addition to being the original home of the Carajá, the underworld is also the home of the dead. Those who die a quiet death and are properly buried live there much in the same fashion as they lived on earth. But they are always a bit crazed and dangerous to the living. They must be placated by offerings and ceremonial observances. Otherwise they assume the form of poisonous snakes and bite those who neglect them. Those who die a violent death, who are clubbed or torn by beasts, become violent unappeasable ghosts. They are buried in the woods without arms or fire, in a position contrary to the traditional position in order to disorient them. A woman's girdle is tied about their eyes to blind them. Their desire is to kill, and especially to kill their closest kin. Their afterlife is extremely unpleasant. They wander about in a perpetual rage and feed on little birds which they eat raw.

The other dimension of the Carajá universe is the sky. Only the southeastern quadrant of the sky interests the Carajá. The rest is uninhabited forest. Starting at the Southern Cross virtually every star and constellation visible in the east is a named supernatural. The Milky Way is the shaman's road. When the shaman falls into his trance he goes up the shaman's road into one of the villages of the sky supernaturals. There he receives his power and knowledge and, if he has not eaten or drunk, thereafter is a curer. If he has, he becomes a sorcerer and killer. The good shaman after his death goes to live in the sky. He squats up there in the heat of the sun with his inexhaustible pot of food and gourd of water in front of him and his shamanistic rattle in his hand, held up to shade his eyes from the glare of the sun. At night he dances with the supernaturals. This is considered the happiest afterlife.

The earth and underworld are also inhabited by supernaturals. Every pool, every deep spot in the river, every bit of forest or savannah, has its supernatural owners. These are of two kinds. Many are amiable and beautiful beings who have friendly relations with humans. They are invited to feasts and impersonated in the masked dances. The others are ugly and dangerous monsters who cannot be placated. Their woods are avoided and nobody fishes in their pools.

The sorcerer has a wide variety of techniques at his disposal. He may

7:Lipkind E-5 (1938-1939) 1940
SP9 Caraja SP9

754 request a ghost to do his killing. In this case the ghost takes the form of a wild beast, usually a leopard. He may request a supernatural either to enter the body of his victim, or to turn loose on the victim his subject animals, 756 particularly the alligator and piranha. The curing shaman sucks out the intrusive supernatural or persuades the ghosts or supernaturals to withhold their attack.

● 776 The dichotomy of ghosts and supernaturals is quite clear in Carajá religion. Ghosts are placated by calendrical feasts, run by a hereditary priest. Supernaturals are invited to the masked dances by a shaman who takes complete charge of this cult. There is little relationship between the two cults. There is a momentary appearance of masks during the Big-house Feast of the ghost cult, and an occasional offering to ancestors during the mask cult ceremonies.

775 What is of special interest is that there are many maleficent supernaturals 776 who cannot be approached at all. There is no technique for handling them except keeping out of their way. The violent ghosts really fall in the same category as far as their relation to humans is concerned. And yet they are chiefly the best men of the Carajá who have fallen in battle against their [754] enemies. In this curious bit of fantasy there seems to be a projection of the fear and aggression which are overtly present in the social life.

In recent years a few Carajá have been able to visit Rio and Belém. They 771 have brought back a somewhat different picture of the extent of the world, 772 a picture with which many Carajá are now familiar. It never intrudes into 597 Carajá life. It is reserved solely for discourse with outsiders. No contradiction is felt because the two conceptions are never brought into the same universe of discourse. I was not able to detect any signs of skepticism. The Carajá is perfectly sure that he has a clear view of the true character of the world. The peculiar beliefs of outsiders are in keeping with their quaint behavior and lack of good breeding. A Carajá will not dispute about such things. He listens to the opinions of others with courtesy and curiosity but cannot be induced to take them seriously. It is much easier to pretend to [747] agree. If you are a missionary, you will give him presents. Later he may have the additional pleasure of expounding your fantastic ideas to his fellows.

182 Two factors seem to me to contribute largely to the maintainance of this 792 attitude. In the first place, the old way of life is still intact. When a man is 773 able to find full occupation and joy in his activities, it is difficult to get him to doubt the premises on which they are founded. Secondly, every important feature of life is validated by mythical tales which are the Carajá history. The emergence myth, given above in its simplest and shortest variant, is one of many. I can do no more than mention some of the most important here. The full form of the emergence myth gives the names of all the ancestors who emerged and the precise social divisions which they

8:Gow-Smith T-5 (no date)1925
SP9 Caraja SP9

THE ARAWANA, OR FISH DANCE, OF THE CARAJA INDIANS OF MATTO GROSSO, BRAZIL

535 825 OF ALL the dances of the Caraja, the *Arawana* is the most important. It takes its name from a fish found in the tributaries of the Amazon, particularly the River Araguaya. This fish, the *arawana* [774] or *iraco*, is thought by the natives to be semi-human and is much venerated.

535 [533] The dance, a cross between a turkey-step and a foxtrot, accompanied by weird songs, is performed by two Indian men representing the male and the female fish. Both are dressed alike, except that there is hidden in the headgear of the male representative a cluster of threaded nuts from the palm tree, which rattle as the dancers move.

The dress consists of long slender palm-leaves hanging from the waist to the knees like a skirt. A similar kilt arrangement of leaves covers the body from neck to waist. The head-dress is made from palm-leaves closely braided together in the form of a hood, with coarse grass hanging loose at the bottom, obscuring the face. The upper part tapers almost to a point about two feet above the head and is overlaid with beautiful feather mosaic patterned to suggest the *arawana*. Two "horns" made of grass top the headdress. (Fig. 43.)